

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHóns of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black.

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance: "Kaktsey páoo" is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet.

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspón. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers.

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghóns is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife".

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony.

‡[Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:--

805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónđa a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress."

291
195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woollen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair.

352
513
286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the-Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used.

492

khoorta (for Kooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Koorooopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladák will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man."

482

466

463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa."

645

CASTE--riks or roospa.

564
565

There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

[595]

The first class or "rigál rihs" consists only of royal personages.

The second class or "trangzey rihs" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámas no castes are recognized, all lámas in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647]

The third class or "rjey rihs" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang rihs" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463]

The fifth class or "tóbey rihs" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

564
565
775
617

CLASS I.
Rgiál riks.

CLASS II.
Trángzey riks.

CLASS III.
Rjey riks.

SUB-DIVISION.

SUB-DIVISIONS.

SUB-DIVISIONS.

None

None

None

Red Cap Sects ...

(1) Rnikmápa ...

(2) Urgianpa ...

(3) Saskiápa ...

(4) Kárgiootpa.

(5) Skarmápa ...

(6) Drigongpa ...

(7) Staglungpa.

(8) Hlondrukpa

(Yellow Cap Sect

(9) Gëylukpa or.

GHaldunpa...

...

...

...

...

1 Cho ...

2 Kaíón ...

3 Lonpo ...

4 Hlap dak or

Hlardak ...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

CLASS IV.

Himang riks.

CLASS V.

Tólbey riks.

SUB-DIVISIONS

1 Nángso (kings treasurer).

2 Chakdzot (steward)

3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).

4 ChhakSHI (king's domestics).

5 GHópa (doorkeeper).

6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)

7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)

8 Chhooŋpa (the waterer of the king's fields).

9 Rardzi (goatherd).

10 Bardzi (cowherd).

11 Thralpa (coolly).

12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).

...

SUB-DIVISIONS

1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).

2 Zópa (artizan).

3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).

4 Mulzópa (silver smith).

5 Zángzópa (copper smith).

6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).

7 SHingkhan (carpenter).

8 Rtsikspon (builder).

9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).

10 Mon (musician.)

11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).

12 Beyda musician.

Malákhan juggler.

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237
372

CUP--korey. Every Ladák has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415
609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjey phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778
792
411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.¹ The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535
517

DANCER--trakSHóhma or takSHóhma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHóhma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tóbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535
463
565

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779
776

¹[i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted.

751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest."

582

564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gblum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing).

758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct sub-division of one of the lowest "castes."

564

463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister."

645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing.

631

647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister".

645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar.

137

438

656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or

000

565
463 LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or thalpa or sáthalpa (the unpaid labourers who in old days were attached to the Raja's palace).

101 LADAK--The most westerly Province of the country known to Englishmen as Tibet, is called Ladák or Ladág, though in books and classical writings the word is written "Látaks," with the first syllable long and the second short.

Europeans frequently, and Indians and Central Asians invariably, speak of the country as "Ladákh," but this is quite incorrect.

103 The word "Tibet" is unknown to the people of the country, who, if they know anything of geography, speak of Western Tibet as "Ladák," Central Tibet as Ootsang, and Eastern Tibet as Kham. It has been suggested that as "tibit" is the Persian for the finest kind of shawl-wool, and as that commodity comes from Tibet, the country was therefore named "tibit" or "shawl-wool." This explanation does not recommend itself to Major Cunningham, who says "one might as well derive the name of India from indigo." I would venture to express a different opinion. It seems to me that just as certain islands are known to Englishmen as the "Spice Islands," and to Germans as the "Gewürz Inseln," owing to the fact that spices are obtained therefrom, so the country from which the Central Asians obtained shawl-wool, may have received from them the name of "Tibet" or "shawl-wool."

101 Cunningham says that Ladák "is still known as kha-pa-chan or kha-chan," i.e., abounding in snow or "snowland." This is not quite correct, for though in books, the country, known as Ngáreeskhorsum, is alluded to as "kháwáchan," or "kángschan" (meaning "snowy" or "icy,") those terms, if used in Ladák, in the course of conversation, would not be understood. There are, however, four other names by which Ladák is known to educated Tibetans, namely, (1) Mangyool; (2) Ngárees; (3) Maryool; (4) Máryool" or "red country," tradition is that once upon a time a king of Lhása died, leaving two sons, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The illegitimate son took possession of the throne, and the other son fled to Poorang (the country between Kumáon and the Mánasarwar lake), where sometime later, three sons were born to him. When these sons grew up, the father gave countries to each of them, the most western of these (Ladák), where the clouds were red at the time of sunset, he called Máryool.

The word "maryool" means "low land" and is an apt name, as Ladák

316
466 [103] MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

564
645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyrics" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

631
647 In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

564
463
533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámas have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

797 [104] MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F. A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

instituted three classes of ceremonies, corresponding to the means of the different households: At the Rimdro of the first class (rabs) all 108 volumes of the Kangyur, the first part of the canon, are read; this occurs only very rarely and in single instances among the great men of the land. At the Rimdro of the second class (abrin), half of that, or even only 12 volumes, may be read; at a reading of the third class (adus, or, mta), only a brief extract is read. Namgyal chose the second class and had about thirty volumes read. The reading of the "divine" word (cos) was after all supposed to bring blessing, protection, and prosperity through the power that resided in it. 788

As the day for the beginning of these exercises, to which were also joined offerings, the 15th of the fourth month was chosen. This day (like the first), is considered as particularly suited to praying, reading, walking around sacred places, and to the bestowing of gifts. On these holy days Namgyal accordingly prayed earnestly, circled around the prayer walls and chorten at the entrance to the village, all the while turning his prayer wheel. He also gave alms on this day to each beggar or mendicant lama who approached him. Wherever possible, Namgyal would participate with enthusiasm in the greater undertakings that brought merit to the performer, such as the white-washing of the monastery walls, the building of new 'manes' (prayer walls) and chorten. At his instigation the farmers also got together once and built a large prayer wheel by the brook, the cylinder of which was almost two meters high. This prayer wheel was driven by water, and now it "prayed" day and night for the inhabitants of the village and their bodily as well as spiritual well-being.

The compensation for the services which the lamas perform for the laymen during the year takes place in the late summer when the grain has been threshed. At that time the lamas arrive in great numbers from the nearest monasteries in order to claim their share in the harvest. The seven wealthiest farmers of Kalatse have been obligated since time immemorial to entertain the lamas one after the other. It happens that one farmer has to be host to 100 to 150 lamas in one day. /Following page 176 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Threshing of the grain"; the second showing the "Monastery Trigtsee in Ladakh" (subtitle). /177/ In addition to the lamas and nuns who demand their reward, the smiths and carpenters also come, who are the descendants of the Aryan inhabitants of these mountains and who were at one time subjugated by the Tibetans (compare note 12). These artisans are now paid off for their labors which 792 463 465 563

• 463 they performed for the farmers during the year: the maintenance of
 465 the agricultural and other implements, the shoeing of the horses, all
 362 kinds of carpentry work, and so forth. The musicians (Bedas, Mon)
 who have played and sung at the festivities, likewise receive their
 share. After they have been entertained, each of those who have
 rendered a service of some kind to the farmers receives a few measures
 of grain, depending on his performance, up to a weight of two kal
 (one kal being about 15 kilograms).

000 Namgyal's religious enthusiasms led him to follow conscientiously
 all the commands of the doctrine and of the lamas. But all these
 pious exercises were unable to put an end to the restlessness of his
 heart. Even the pilgrimages to the holy places and to the Buddha
 images, which according to the statements of the lamas were bound
 to secure the pious person an entry into paradise, yes, even into
 nirvana, did not give him the peace of soul that he sought. The struggle
 for perfection and liberation from earthly bonds seemed hopeless, all
 divine and human Skyabsmgon (saviours) had disappointed him; he
 had seen too much of the sinful life of the great majority of the lamas
 to be able to entrust himself to their leadership with confidence. He
 could not do entirely without their spiritual assistance, for the sake
 of the family and the tribe who placed importance upon a good re-
 lationship with the lamas; and in order to do everything for his own
 salvation of soul, and that of his family, he observed the command-
 ments and "acted religious," as the lamas demanded it. But his
 yearning for peace remained unsatisfied.

197 Around this time a missionary had moved into the valley and
 had built a house, in spite of furious resistance on the part of the
 lamas of the monastery Lamayuru. Together with his wife, the mis-
 sionary now took loving concern with the poor and the afflicted. He
 spoke to the people about someone called Yeshu, the incarnation of
 the great single God and Creator in Heaven, who came down to earth
 himself in human form to save the bound and suffering human beings;
 and who made the bound people free and happy through his own suf-
 000 ferings and death /178/. The message struck Namgyal like a flash
 of lightning, and a new conflict began inside of him. He could not
 get rid of the idea: What if it were true what the stranger said, that
 the belief in the act of redemption of this Yeshu was sufficient by
 itself, without any good works, and without all the Buddhas and
 Bodhisattvas, to make man free from sin and suffering! And so Namgyal
 frequently visited the missionary's gatherings, despite the interdict of

/Following page 192/



Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on con- 47/
ditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it 423

was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants. [463]

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geograph- 10/
ically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh 63/
has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom- 175

283 customers. A much quicker way to get on with the twisting
 462 is to attach the wool to hooks on the roof from which the
 spindles are suspended. Then, sitting on the ground with
 four or more spindles in a row, each in turn may be given
 a twist with the hand, and so four or five balls can be twisted
 up in less time than one. Where there is an industrious
 housewife, large balls of wool may be seen hanging from the
 roof or even out in the fresh air of the balcony, where the fish
 insects are less likely to get them, ready for the coming of the
 286 weaver. If a very fine cloth is required, the balls are first
 soaked in water to shrink and harden them. The warp is
 prepared out in the road where there is a nice level stretch,
 and an experienced weaver walks up and down its length,
 arranging the threads and directing his assistants. The
 warp is then wound on a roller and transferred to a machine
 for weaving. The woof is made from the wool of three
p'angs twisted together and passed in and out on a shuttle.
 The weaving machine is a very primitive-looking affair,
 worked by a treadle, and the resulting *snambu* is little over a
 foot wide, so that a Ladaki garment has many longitudinal
 seams. But before sewing, the cloth must be shrunk, and a
 whole day is spent trampling it on a flat stone selected for
 the purpose in a running watercourse. This decreases its
 width by another three or four inches. It is then wound on
 a smooth stick and rolled up and down for about an hour by
 way of mangling it, and finally spread out in the sun to dry.
 [292] If it is to be used for a woman's or a lama's dress, it still has
 to be dyed the necessary dark red.

463 For sewing clothes a special man is generally employed,
 462 but rough mending anyone will do, especially the men.
 Both sexes also help in the regular irrigation of the crops in
 summer, and the other agricultural occupations in their
 [457] season. There are the cattle to tend, in which occupation the
 children are so useful; some of the male members may travel
 651 about the country trading, while there is always the bugbear

Modes & Manners

127

studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red ³⁰¹ cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling ²⁹¹ enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, ^[369] getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl ^[463] ●

CHAPTER XIII

Professions & Industries

462
[511]
754
[719]
757
WE have now to watch our Ladaki friends as they earn their livelihood, for not all are owners of fields, and even those who are find that an extra vocation allows of a dish of meat, rice and other luxuries on special occasions. Let us begin with the professional gentlemen. The clergy will be treated with elsewhere, but in addition there are doctor, horologist, teacher and nun to consider, all of whom, though not real priests, are regarded as performing religious functions. There are quite a number of doctors, some of them doing useful work, although the treatment, by even the best of them, occasionally shows shocking results. Their method of training is much like that which obtained formerly in England, when he who aspired to medical knowledge became apprenticed to a practising physician, and thus by actual experience learnt his trade. The theoretical knowledge is found in four large volumes, belonging to the *Kahgyur* which are the one hundred and eight large books containing the wisdom and knowledge of Lamaism. The doctor or *amchi* dons no distinctive dress, but he can always be recognized, for slung over his back he carries his medicines tied in a long cloth. These he has carefully collected on the hills during the spring and summer months, his knowledge of herbs being doubtless considerable, and to his stock he adds by purchases in the bazar from down-country merchants. See him as he climbs up the rickety staircase right on to the roof to visit one of his patients who

- 1900.] H. Francke—*A collection of Ladakhi Proverbs.* 145
- (d) Do not laugh at another man's misfortune, the same might easily come to you. 539
- ~~(e) The second sentence in full would be: *stingmanas rgod ma shor*, from the follower a laugh must not flee.~~ 000
37. (a) ལྷག་ནང་ནས་བྱི་ཡང་འདུག་ཟེར་དེ། 133
 ཞའ་བྱུག་ནས་རྩོལ་འདུག་དེ་ཆ་ཅུག་། 539
- (b) stag'nanā khyi'yongdug zer'te
 zha'bugnā rdo'a khurte cha'rug.
- (c) Saying there comes a dog out of Stagna [a village four miles from Zhabug] they go carrying stones out of Zhabug.
- (d) Do not be afraid, there will be a helper.
- (e) Zhabug = zhabub = falling headlong into a bog; charug = cha'adug; the *d* of 'adug becomes an *r* after a stem ending in a vowel. 000
38. (a) མི་ངན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པ་ལ་ཆ་ན། 539
 ཤིང་ངན་དྭགས་དང་ཕྱག་།
- (b) mi'ngan thsogs' sebla cha'na
 shing' ngan ta'ku dang thug'.
- (c) When a bad man goes into the middle of a forest, he meets [finds] only with bad crooked wood.
- (d) A bad man sees only bad things and persons about him.
- (e) *Taku* is the Ladakhi for crooked, crippled, ill-shaped. 000
39. (a) མི་ལ་སྤྱིད་མི་ཐག་། 539
 རལ་ཆོལ་མི་ཐག་།
- (b) mi'la skyid' mithag'
 ra'la thsil' mi thag'.
- (c) Man cannot bear good fortune, [just as] a goat cannot bear [eat] grease.
- (e) *Thagces* = thegpa. 000
40. (a) བྱི་ལ་སྐྱེས་དང་བེ་ཏུ་ལ་ཤོ། 539
 231
 463
- (b) khyi'a sgaldang be'daa shol.
- (c) To the dog is a load, what the plough is to a musician.
- (d) Certain people cannot be expected to do real work.

591
595 There was an entrance gate, a yard with a stable, a first floor with a
[351] *lha-k'hang*, as is usual. In this house which constituted the *k'hang-chen*,
[888] we found a family of two men, their common wife and three boys, as
well as a divorced sister of the brothers. At the end of the field, attain-
ing to the house, was a smaller building, with a field of its own. This
was the *k'hang-gu*, and in it were the parents of the men. These parents
consisted of a decrepit old hag and her three old husbands, and they
had been living there for some six years already. The eldest of the men
595 in the *k'hang-chen*, named Sonam Tsewang, acted as the informant,
601 and it was with him that I made the genealogical tree of the family as
[115] shown here in Table 31.

The eldest sister of the fathers in the *k'hang-gu* was dead, it seemed.
She had been married off in *bag-ma* to two brothers of a household
called Chubipa, and she had had sons to continue the line there. The
three brothers had married one woman called Sonam Putit - the old
hag who was living with the men - and these people had had five
children, three daughters and two boys.

595 The eldest daughter, Tsewang Palmo, had fallen in love and married
[791] a Christian called Dorge, much to her family's displeasure, not so much
because of the difference in religion, but because, being a convert of
the mission, he had no land of his own (he had been excluded by his
own family) and had to work as a peon. The second daughter, Standzin
[586] Rolma, had married into a household called Kushu but had since di-
vorced and had returned to her brothers. She now lived in the *k'hang-
chen* as is the custom, and her brothers had to see to it that she was
maintained. I was not able to find out under what circumstances she
divorced.

The two boys, Sonam Tsewang and Skalzang, were married polyan-
drously with a woman named Ishe Rolma. They had three boys with
her, and the continuity of the Mahe household through males was thus
assured. A sister, born between the birthdays of the two men, called
Chungnid, was the one we had met at the Tok-Tok household on the
30th of August. She was married polyandrously in *bag-ma* there to the
two sons of Stobgye, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel.

595 We spent the afternoon of the same day at the house of an *amchi*
759 or native Tibetan doctor, the *Gadpo-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) Household. There
601 was only a grandmother alive in this house, and she lived in the *k'hang-
gu* reserved for her. The son, Chonde, who was a doctor, lived in a
[888] larger *k'hang-gu* than usual, because, as an *amchi*, he had private
463 means and could add to the small home as he wanted. Actually, the

Ladak

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS

369

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had become a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist families among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

601
595
[059]
[463]595
[115]

[162]

595
601
[842]

595

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from. This is probably due—and I think the remark may have a wider application than to the small communities here, may apply to the mixed breeds of many other countries—to the want of family ties and of the training in social habits of which children of almost every race get something in the ordinary course of things, but which is broken through when unusual connections are made. An exception to be made from the above general statement of their low moral state—that of some respectable families of the Kashmiri half-castes—in some measure corroborates what has just been said, insomuch that these have for some generations formed a community of settled habits and have again acquired a standard of morals of which the miscellaneous half-castes seem quite devoid. 563

MODE OF LIVELIHOOD.

Almost all the Ladākhis are engaged in agriculture; the number of artisans is very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there are hardly any; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole country—are either of the half-castes or are strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladākh are connected with the soil. They form a peasantry tilling their own land. The area cultivated by one family is from two to four acres. From the produce of this, and from the incomings of miscellaneous labour which they undertake, they manage to pay the Government demand and to get for themselves a fair living. 463 ●

The sons of a family neither divide the heritage nor themselves separate, but they enjoy the estate in common, in one household; the domestic institution which is necessarily connected with this arrangement will be spoken of farther on. 565
241
651

The people of rank also have their interest in the soil; some have grants of land free, or to a certain extent free, of the Government land-tax; others have land bearing [428]

LADĀKH

97

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākḥ. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in The Ladākḥ, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākḥ. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladākḥis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākḥis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākḥis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the water-courses.

KASH.

642

175

792

[196]

[178]

361

563

144

181

564

463 ●

241

511

[582]

[372]

[313]